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From one informant was obtained the term a'toiú, said to signify both aunt and uncle, and there was also obtained the term unyunyu, said to signify aunt. No verification could be obtained for either of these terms, which, combined with the fact that they are so at variance with the whole system of relationship, make them both seem very doubtful (Barrett 1929:335 note 16).

The terms that seemed deviant and doubtful in 1909 had become systematic by 1960! Barrett also recorded that the Cayapa equated the paternal cross-cousin with the maternal cross-cousin. In 1960, cross-cousins are equated and parallel-cousins are distinguished. Barrett recorded 'grandfather' as /ancápa/ whereas this writer recorded it as /aápa/. Barrett also used the term, /ancápa/, as meaning 'father-in-law,' which agreed with my recording. Terms used between in-laws are not recorded by Barrett, but I recorded /ancaʔtála/ as a reciprocal term for the two fathers-in-law. It would appear that the best translation for /anc-/ is 'in-law,' and /-tala/ is glossed as 'together.' Barrett's recording of 'grandfather' as /ancápa/ is an anomoly when compared to/aápa/, since /a/ means 'big' and /ápa/ 'father.' One purpose of marriage for the Cayapa is to have children, and these children make the respective in-laws grandparents

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child being cared for can walk, it may be dragged along by one hand at a much too rapid pace, and it drags rather than runs behind. If the parents should see this the older girl is reprimanded and occasionally slapped.

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Adolescence. There are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty. At adolescence the boy is not considered to be ready to assume the responsibility of adulthood. His training is much more protracted than that of the girls. For example, he must attain skill in canoe workmanship, and this may not be fully achieved until late teen age. He may be given a piece of land of his own to work, but even so, he must help his parents in their work, on demand. The criteria used to determine a boy's readiness for marriage are the following: he must be skillful in cutting his own canoe; he must acquire sufficient land to support a family; he should own a shotgun. The young man himself is often reluctant to assume new responsibilities despite the expectations of his adult associates. This will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with Sex, Courtship, and Marriage.

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CHAPTER III

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Children are important to the Cayapa and are welcomed because it is essential that a man or a woman have children who can perform a boda or memorial feast for the deceased parent(s) several years after death. The spirit of the dead parent would be unhappy and vexed, if this were not done. In addition, as we have discussed, the family is economically important. There is ample motivation for the Cayapa to begin a family and a variety of methods are available.

> When a young man or a young woman desires to marry a certain person, all work other than that absolutely necessary, and all social relations with other individuals, are at an end. Such a person sits throughout the day without speaking to anyone, and no matter how much he or she may be addressed or made fun of, etiquette does not permit such a person to respond or even to laugh. . . A young swain then bides his time until the other members of his family have retired for the night, when he takes his canoe and paddles to a point near the house of the young woman he wishes to marry. On nearing her home he sings softly certain magic love-songs and then cautiously approaches the house. He then, according to some informants, attracts her attention by one

The pressure lantern remained in Gabriel's house. About two weeks later when the lantern had not been returned to him, Chapiro went looking for it at night in Gabriel's house, but he couldn't find it. He kept asking for the lantern, and eventually, after two or three months, it was returned to him.

The lack of interest on the part of the young woman, coupled with Chapiro's poor reputation, apparently led Gabriel to make it clear to Chapiro that he did not want him as a son-in-law. A year or two later, the /ʔiⁿ'i/, Arcilio, died and Gabriel became the chief. Gabriel now began to consider Chapiro's threat to his daughter, who was now married. He ordered Lorenzo Añapa and Aurelio Añapa, two of the /ca'tela/, to go up to Sapallo Grande during Christmas and to bring back a wife for Chapiro. They found a woman who was lame and not very eagerly sought after as a marriage partner, inasmuch as she could not work effectively in the monte. They brought her to Chapiro's house and presented her to him. He refused to take her, but Lorenzo said that if he did not take the girl, he would beat him. Chapiro then agreed to

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marry her. In 1960 he seemed happy with his wife, especially since she gave birth to a boy, and since his marriage he apparently has stayed close to home.

It may be that the choice of a crippled wife for Chapiro was deliberate and with malice aforethought. Chapiro's reputation, however, extended beyond the sexual sphere, and he was known to be lazy and a poor worker. Most women would have refused him as a husband anyway. What is important, however, is the fact that the solution worked, and that Chapiro was effectively removed from circulation. It should be mentioned for the record that when he was queried about Chapiro's wife, Lorenzo Añapa reported, with what appeared to the writer to be no small measure of satisfaction, "She can't work very well in the fields because of her bad leg."

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For the Cayapa, marriages are not all made in heaven, and many times legal difficulties both attend and follow a marriage. The parents of Chapiro's bride did not object to her marriage at all; however, as women are economically useful, some families that lack one or another of the parents attempt to keep the

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on his brother. A few days later, the /ún^{y}i/ found them and removed Carmelina to his house, and from there she was sent to a man from the Río Onzole. In the meantime, Carmelina's brother became enamored of Alipio's sister. He 'stole' her, and they hid for a week, but were caught by Alipio when they came out of the monte. He took his sister home, declaring that she still had a lot of work to do around the house, such as making fans for sale on the coast. The young man 'stole' her again, apparently keeping her for a considerable time, at least sufficient for it to become clear that the woman was now pregnant, and so they remained together. At Punta Venado, during one of the fiestas, the /ún^{y}i/ ordered them to be whipped twenty lashes.

Carmelina was crippled, and yet she was eagerly sought after by two men, in marked contrast to Chapiro's crippled wife. The choice of marriage partners for both Alipio and Chapiro had been considerably restricted, due to their poor work habits. Alipio's brother posed something of a problem. It is not known that he was lazy also, but certainly the reputation of his

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brother did not give him any advantage. The reluctance of some families to part peacefully with their unmarried female members stems in part from economic factors. Even though Carmelina was crippled, she was still of great assistance to her mother. Similarly, Alipio hoped to realize some profit from his sister's handiwork before permitting her to marry. As Carmelina's mother did not object to her daughter's marriage to the man from the Río Onzole, it can be assumed that he was more desirable as a son-in-law than either Alipio or his brother. She probably realized that she would not be able to prevent her daughter from leaving home much longer since the girl had made it clear, after her brief sojourn with Alipio, that she wanted a man--any man.

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The marriage commission as a device for arranging marriages is apparently very common although it is not always eufunctional. Quite often more problems are raised than are settled by the commission's attempt at match-making as witnessed in the following case.

Averticio lied when he said that he had not asked for the use of force by the commission. Mena res marked Averticio's actions and he was an accessory before and after the fact. By requesting the two Negroes for the commission he gave tacit approval to the use of force. If Romulo had complained to an Indian official, the latter would have been unable to deal legally with the Negroes, and he would have restricted his investigation to Averticio and Dámian. When Negroes are involved, and feelings are running high among the aggrieved Cayapa, self-help may be resorted to, as the following case demonstrates.

Perdomo fights for his sister. Perdomo lived with his wife, mother, and sister in a house up the Río Canerones. One night a commission composed of the usual two Indians and two Negroes came to the house. The two Indians spoke first. They had come to deliver Perdomo's sister to Manuel Largo of Playa Grande. Perdomo and his mother refused. [Manuel was said to be very ugly, thin, and weak.] Following this refusal, the two Negroes came in to take the girl forcibly. She began to cry whereupon Perdomo went for his machete

Indians returned home without the girl. Several days later, Manuel Largo took his reluctant bride up a small nearby stream to hide, since he feared a return of the girl's family. The girl apparently entertained no such hopes anymore, and when they had gone a short distance upstream, she told Manuel to go on up ahead and wait for her as she wanted to defecate. When he was gone from view, she ran through the monte and later that day she arrived at the house of Juanito Cimarrón of Pichiyaco. Even though Juanito was not related to her, he arranged for one of his sons to return her to her home; nothing more was ever done about this incident.

If Manuel Largo was indeed small, thin, and ugly, then Perdomo's sister would view the arrangement with something less than enthusiasm. If Manuel was indeed weak, then the family in general could join the girl in her refusal. A man who is weak certainly would not be a very good provider for the wife, and, as a man is expected to help his in-laws when needed, he would not be of much use to them. The material presented so far indicates that a woman has a great deal to say as to whether or not she will marry and/or to whom. A

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determined woman will usually have her way, and many Cayapa women are determined:

Earlier, in the case of Carmelina, we saw that the relatives of the /únʸi/ were not immune from being manhandled by a commission. In the following case we shall see an instance in which the very authority of the /únʸi/ was flouted.

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Mother removes her daughter from the bridegroom's home. Several years ago Kalía wanted to send his sister to marry a man on the Río Camerones. The mother objected, saying that the girl was much too young. They all later went as guests to a baile de casamiento, that is, a wedding feast celebrated usually a year or two after a man and woman have been living together as man and wife. The late /únʸi/, Arcilio, was asked by the prospective bridegroom's brother to deliver the girl, and this was done. The girl's mother said nothing at the time, but when she returned to the Río Camerones, she marched into the bridegroom's house and took her daughter home with her. The bridegroom's mother protested, but that was all. The elder brother

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